

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 TEL AV 05027 01 OF 03 130828Z  
ACTION H-03

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FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7155

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

USMISSION SINAI

CINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 TEL AVIV 5027

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y CLASSIFICATION (CONFIDENTIAL  
VICE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE) AND GDS VICE N/A

USCINCEUR FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OREP (HAMILTON, LEE)

SUBJECT: CODEL HAMILTON

BEGIN SUMMARY: PRIME MINISTER BEGIN TOLD CODEL HAMILTON  
THAT HE WOULD BE BRINGING CONCRETE ISRAELI PROPOSALS TO  
WASHINGTON, OUTLINING THE ISRAELI VIEW OF THE FORM THAT  
NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD TAKE, AND THAT HIS VISIT SHOULD BE  
FOLLOWED UP BY DAYAN AND/OR VANCE VISIT(S). BEGIN ARGUED  
FOR "FEE NEGOTIATIONS" WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS BY ANY  
SIDE. HE RULED OUT PLO PARTICIPATION AT GENEVA BUT SAID  
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PAGE 02 TEL AV 05027 01 OF 03 130828Z

ISRAEL WOULD NOT CHECK THE CREDENTIALS OF THE JORDANIAN  
DELEGATION. DMC LEADER YADIN SAID THAT HIS PARTY WOULD  
PROBABLY NOT MAKE ITS DECISION ON JOINING THE  
GOVERNMENT BEFORE BEGIN'S WASHINGTON VISIT. HE  
SAID THAT HE BELIEVES BEGIN WILL NEITHER MAKE ANY  
COMPROMISE INITIATIVE ON THE WEST BANK, NOR SUPPORT  
AN ARAB INITIATIVE, BUT WOULD IF PRESSED BY THE

ISRAELI PUBLIC SUBMIT THE ISSUE TO A REFERENDUM. AS FOR NEW SETTLEMENTS ON THE WEST BANK, YADIN PREDICTED BEGIN WOULD QUICKLY ESTABLISH A COUPLE IN ARAB POPULATED AREAS, THEN MAKE A "BIG PAUSE." BEGIN WOULD NOT YIELD TO AMERICAN PRESSURE, YADIN SAID. PERES SAID THAT LABOR WILL GIVE THE NEW GOVERNMENT A "FAIR CHANCE" AND MEANWHILE DEVOTE ITSELF TO RENEWAL AND INTERNAL RECONSTRUCTION. RABIN WAS NOT OPTIMISTIC ABOUT ACHIEVING RESULTS AT GENEVA, BUT THOUGHT THAT THE IMPORTANT THING IS TO KEEP THE PARTIES ON THE NEGOTIATING TRACK, NOT THE CONFRONTATION TRACK. IF GENEVA MAKES NO SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS, RABIN SEES INCREASED INTER-ARAB TENSION AND ARAB DEPENDENCE ON THE SOVIETS. U.S. PRESSURE ON ISRAEL THROUGH WITHHOLDING ARMS WOULD TAKE A LONG TIME TO BE EFFECTIVE, AND WOULD ONLY BE AN INVITATION TO THE ARABS TO MAKE TROUBLE. GAZA MAYOR SHAWWA VIGOROUSLY PROTESTED ISRAELI OCCUPATION AND CALLED FOR "AN IMPOSED SOLUTION." END SUMMARY

1. CONGRESSMEN LEE HAMILTON, BENJAMIN ROSENTHAL, DAVID OBEY, AND ABNER MIKVA VISITED ISRAEL JULY 6 - JULY 9 AND MET WITH PRIME MINISTER BEGIN, DEFENSE MINISTER WEIZMAN, DMC LEADER YADIN, LABOR PARTY LEADER PERES, AND EX-PRIME MINISTER RABIN. DUE TO LATE SCHEDULE CHANGE, CODEL WAS UNABLE TO MEET WITH FOREIGN MINISTER DAYAN. CODEL ALSO ATTENDED WORKING DINNERS HOSTED  
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PAGE 03 TEL AV 05027 01 OF 03 130828Z

BY AMBASSADOR LEWIS, MFA DIRECTOR GENERAL EVRON, AND JERUSALEM CONSUL GENERAL NEWLIN, AS WELL AS A LUNCHEON HOSTED BY TEL AVIV MAYOR LAHAT. CODEL ALSO VISITED BETHELEM UNDER CONSULATE GENERAL JERUSALEM AUSPICES. CODEL TOURED SEVERAL REFUGEE CAMPS IN GAZA; MET WITH GAZA MAYOR SHAWWA; AND HAD LUNCHEON WITH GENERALS ORLY AND MAIMOUN OF THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT. CODEL ALSO MET WITH MK ELIAV.

2. PRIME MINISTER BEGIN OPENED HIS MEETING WITH A REQUEST THAT THE CODEL ASK SYRIAN PRESIDENT ASAD FOR HIS HELP IN SOLVING THE HUMANITARIAN PROBLEM OF SYRIAN JEWS (SEPTEL). REFERRING TO HIS UPCOMING MEETING WITH PRESIDENT CARTER, BEGIN SAID THAT HE WOULD BE BRINGING "VERY CONCRETE" PROPOSALS TO WASHINGTON, OUTLINING THE ISRAELI VIEWS ON THE FORM OF NEGOTIATIONS AND HOW THEY SHOULD BE CONDUCTED AND TAKING INTO ACCOUNT ALL THE DIFFERENCES OF VIEW BETWEEN THE VARIOUS SIDES. BEGIN ADDED THAT PERHAPS AFTER HIS VISIT, HE WOULD ASK DAYAN TO FOLLOW UP WITH MORE "CONCRETIZATION" OR THIS MIGHT BE DONE DURING A VISIT BY SECRETARY VANCE TO THE MIDDLE EAST, OR PERHAPS EVEN BOTH. AFTER BEING HANDED

A MESSAGE DURING THE MEETING, BEGIN ANNOUNCED THAT HE HAD JUST RECEIVED CONFIRMATION THAT HE WILL ALSO BE MAKING A SEPARATE VISIT TO FRANCE.

3. CONCERNING THE NEGOTIATION PROCESS, BEGIN STRONGLY ARGUED FOR "FREE NEGOTIATIONS" TO BE UNDERTAKEN WITHOUT EXTERNALLY DEvised FORMULAS FOR SOLVING THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ITS ARAB NEIGHBORS. HE SAID THAT ISRAEL WOULD NOT ASK THE ARABS FOR COMMITMENTS PRIOR TO NEGOTIATIONS, NOR SHOULD ANY BE EXPECTED FROM ISRAEL. "THERE CAN BE ONLY ONE OBSTACLE TO GENEVA, AND THAT IS IF SOMEONE INSISTS ON PRECONDITIONS PRIOR TO NEGOTIATION." IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION ABOUT SADAT'S CURRENT ATTITUDE TOWARD ISRAEL'S "RIGHT TO EXIST," BEGIN CALLED IT A CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 TEL AV 05027 01 OF 03 130828Z

POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT, BUT NOT ENOUGH. SADAT'S CONCRETE PROPOSALS (ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL TO PRE-1967 LINES, PALESTINIAN STATE) ARE NOT CONDUCIVE TO PEACE, BEGIN SAID.

4. CONCERNING THE PLO AND THE PALESTINIANS, BEGIN SAID THAT THE PLO HAD ONLY RECENTLY REAFFIRMED ITS CHARTER WHICH STATES INTER-ALIA THAT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL IS NULL AND VOID FROM ITS BEGINNING. BEGIN ADDED THAT THE PLO HAS NO PLACE IN ISRAELI-ARAB NEGOTIATIONS. HOWEVER, IT IS NOT ISRAEL'S BUSINESS TO INVESTIGATE THE CREDENTIALS OF, FOR

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PAGE 01 TEL AV 05027 02 OF 03 130829Z  
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7156  
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS  
AMEMBASSY JIDDA  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM  
USMISSION SINAI  
CINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 TEL AVIV 5027

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y CLASSIFICATION (CONFIDENTIAL  
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EXAMPLE, THE JORDANIAN DELEGATION. BEGIN DISMISSED  
AS "WORDS" THE IDEA THAT THERE WILL BE "DISASTER"  
IF 1977 SEES NO SIGNIFICANT MOVEMENT; HE CALLED  
THE PRE-1967 LINES OF ISRAEL "A MORTAL DANGER" FOR  
OUR PEOPLE ("AND WE WILL STAND ON THIS POSITION"),  
BUT HE DECLINED MORE THAN ONCE TO GO INTO DETAILS  
WITH THE CONGRESSMEN ON ANY POINTS TOUCHING ON THE  
PROPOSALS HE INTENDS TO DISCUSS WITH PRESIDENT CARTER.

5. DEFENSE MINISTER WEIZMAN BEGAN BY AN EXPOSITION  
OF THE BALANCE OF FORCES BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE ARABS,  
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PAGE 02 TEL AV 05027 02 OF 03 130829Z

CONCLUDING THAT THE MAJOR QUESTION IS WHETHER WILL ALL  
THESE EWEAPONS, 8IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO PREVENT ANOTHER  
WAR. AMONG OTHER DETAILS, WEIZMAN SAID THAT ISRAEL  
IS BETTER PREPARED NOW THAN IN 1973 TO DEAL WITH ARAB  
ANTI-AIRCRAFT MISSILES. IN ANSWER TO QUESTIONS,  
WEIZMAN SAID THAT 85 PCT OF ISRAELI VOTERS SHOWD THAT  
THEY WANT THE JORDAN RIVER TO BE ISRAEL'S "DEFENSE  
BORDER" AND THAT (PARTS OF) THE SINAI AND GOLAN ARE  
NEGOTIABLE. ASKED ABOUT THE WEST BANK, HE INSISTED  
THAT ISRAEL MUST HAVE CONTROL OF ALERT STATIONS THERE  
AND IN ADDITION IT NEEDS A "CERTAIN ROOM" FOR MILITARY  
MANEUVER. (COMMENT: BUT HE DID NOT SAY THAT THE  
WEST BANK WAS NEGOTIABLE.) WEIZMAN ALSO REITERATED  
THAT ISRAEL HAS ABSOLUTELY NO INTENTION TO MOVE INTO  
SOUTH LEBANON, BUT IF THE SYRIANS DID SO, THAT WOULD  
BE ANOTHER MATTER.

6. DMC LEADER YADIN EXPLAINED THAT HIS PARTY BELIEVES  
THAT ISRAEL OUGHT TO BE BOTH JEWISH AND DEMOCRATIC,  
AND THAT THEREFORE IT IS WILLING, IN EXCHANGE FOR  
PEACE, TO MAKE TERRITORIAL COMPROMISES ON ALL OF  
ISRAEL'S THREE FRONTS. HE CANDIDLY ADMITTED THAT

THE DMC POSITION ON THE WEST BANK DOES NOT QUALIFY IT TO BE LABELLED "DOVISH" FROM AN ARAB OR EVEN AN AMERICAN PERSPECTIVE. AS TO WHETHER THE DMC WILL JOIN THE LIKUD GOVERNMENT, YADIN SAID IT DEPENDS ON WHETHER THE PARTY FEELS THAT THE GOVERNMENT REALLY WANTS IT. AFTER CONCESSIONS BY BEGIN ON FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES (DMC AND LIKUD AGREE TO DISAGREE IN EXPRESSION OF VIEWS) AND ON THE QUESTION OF NEW SETTLEMENTS ON THE WEST BANK (UPON THE REQUEST OF A SINGLE MINISTER, APPROVAL OF NEW SETTLEMENTS WILL BE REQUIRED FROM THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND SECURITY COMMITTEE OF THE KNESSET), THE DMC'S  
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PAGE 03 TEL AV 05027 02 OF 03 130829Z

SINE QUA NON REMAINS THE ISSUE OF ELECTORAL REFORM. ASKED WHETHER DMC WOULD MAKE ITS DECISION BEFORE THE BEGIN VISIT TO WASHINGTON, YADIN SAID PROBABLY NOT.

7. ASKED TO COMMENT ON BEGIN AND HIS POSITION ON THE WEST BANK, YADIN SAID HE BELIEVED THAT BEGIN WOULD TAKE NO INITIATIVE TO OFFER TERRITORIAL COMPROMISE ON THE WEST BANK. IF THE ARABS DID SO, BEGIN WOULD NOT SUPPORT IT, BUT WOULD BE WILLING, IF PRESSED BY THE ISRAELI PUBLIC, TO SUBMIT THE QUESTION TO A REFERENDUM. YADIN ALSO BELIEVED THAT BEGIN WOULD QUICKLY ESTABLISH A CUPOLE OF NEW SETTLEMENTS IN THE ARAB-POPULATED AREAS OF THE WEST BANK, AND WOULD DO THIS TO MAINTAIN HIS CREDENTIALS. AFTER THAT, THERE MIGHT BE A "BIG PAUSE." YADIN ALSO OBSERVED THAT IN HIS OPINION BEGIN WOULD NOT BEND UNDER PRESSURE (FROM THE U.S.) HE WOULD "EITHER RESIGN OR SAY NO."

8. LABOR PARTY LEADER PERES ADMITTED THAT HIS PARTY DESERVED ITS ELECTION DEFEAT AND WILL BE DEVOTING EFFORTS NOW TO CUTTING FAT WITHIN THE PARTY, RESTRUCTURING THE PARTY APPARATUS, AND RENEWING TIES WITH THE YOUNGER GENERATION. PERES IMPLIED THAT LABOR WOULD NOT STRIKE QUICKLY AT THE NEW GOVERNMENT, BUT WOULD GIVE IT A FAIR CHANCE WHILE LOOKING AFTER LABOR'S SELF-RENEWAL. ON FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES, PERES THOUGHT THAT THE BEGIN-CARTER MEETING WOULD GO WELL, AND THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS PROCESS WOULD BE RESUMED AT GENEVA IF THE ARABS DO NOT INSIST ON PLO PARTICIPATION. IF THEY DO, IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO TRY TO REACH AGREEMENTS BEFORE CONVENING THE GENEVA CONFERENCE TO RATIFY THEM. PERES EXPLAINED THAT AN ISRAELI-WEST BANK-JORDANIAN CONFEDERATION WOULD HAVE THREE LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT A SOLUTION HE PREFERRED TO PARTITION OF THE WEST BANK. IN ANSWER TO A QUESTION, PERES SAID THAT ASAD IS JUST AS TOUGH AS HE WAS TWO YEARS AGO; HE HAS ONLY  
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PAGE 04 TEL AV 05027 02 OF 03 130829Z

MODIFIED HIS TACTICS DUE TO INVOLVEMENT IN LEBANON.

9. EX-PRIME MINISTER RABIN ALSO ANALYZED HIS PARTY'S ELECTION DEFEAT, AND SAID THAT THE CAMPAIGN WAS DECIDED MAINLY ON DOMESTIC ISSUES BECAUSE THE RABIN GOVERNMENT HAD SUCCEEDED TOO WELL IN HANDLING FOREIGN POLICY MATTERS WHICH HAD ALWAYS BEEN THE MAINSTAY OF LABOR SUPPORT AMONG THE VOTERS. RABIN EMPHASIZED THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN LABOR AND LIKUD POLICIES, AND SAID THAT HIS PARTY HAD BEEN MISTAKEN IN NOT CLEARLY GETTING ACROSS THESE DIFFERENCES TO THE PUBLIC. HE SAID THAT THE MOST IMPORTANT THING NOW IS TO KEEP THE PARTIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST ON THE TRACK OF NEGOTIATIONS, NOT ON THE TRACK OF MILITARY CONFRONTATION. RABIN SAID HE DID NOT KNOW WHETHER THE BEGIN GOVERNMENT MIGHT EVENTUALLY COMPROMISE ON THE WEST BANK, BUT IMPLIED THAT DAYAN MIGHT INFLUENCE THE GOVERNMENT TO ACCEDE TO FURTHER INTERIM AGREEMENTS. HE SAID HE WAS NOT OPTIMISTIC ABOUT ACHIEVING ANY RESULTS AT GENEVA. U.S. PRESSURE ON ISRAEL, THROUGH WITHHOLDING OF MILITARY SUPPLIES, WOULD REQUIRE A LONG TIME TO BE EFFECTIVE, RABIN SAID, AND IT WOULD ONLY BE AN INVITATION TO THE ARABS TO MAKE TROUBLE. RABIN FORESAW INCREASED INTER-ARAB TENSION AND MORE ARAB DEPENDENCE ON THE SOVIETS

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PAGE 01 TEL AV 05027 03 OF 03 130830Z

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7157

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM  
USMISSION SINAI  
CINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 TEL AVIV 5027

C O R R E C T E D C L A S S I F I C A T I O N (CONFIDENTIAL VICE LIMITED  
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IF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE FAILS TO MAKE SIGNIFICANT  
GAINS. ASKED IF HE THOUGHT THAT THE DMC WOULD JOIN  
THE LIKUD GOVERNMENT, RABIN SAID THAT AFTER ONE SET  
OF FAILED NEGOTIATIONS, A PHASE OF "CLARIFICATIONS,"  
AND NOW RESUMED NEGOTIATIONS, THE DMC WOULD BE THE  
LAUGHTING-STOCK OF THE WHOLE COUNTRY IF THEY DID NOT  
JOIN.

10. AT WORKING DINNER HOSTED BY CONSUL GENERAL NEWLIN  
IN JERUSALEM, CODEL MET WITH A NUMBER OF WEST BANK  
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PAGE 02 TEL AV 05027 03 OF 03 130830Z

POLITICAL FIGURES, INCLUDING INTER ALIA THE MAYOR OF  
BETHLEHEM, THE DEPUTY MAYOR OF NABLUS, THE MAYOR OF  
HALHUL, AND ANWAR NUSSEIBEH. (COMMENT: THIS WAS  
THE FIRST TIME THAT A VISITING CODEL HAD MET WITH  
A GROUP OF WEST BANKERS--SEPTTEL FROM JERUSALEM). IN  
GAZA, THE IDF MILITARY SPOKESMAN LED THE CODEL ON  
A BUS TOUR OF THE REFUGEE CAMPS OF JABALIYA AND SHATTI,  
MAKING POINTED REMARKS AGAINST UNRWA, AND THEN CODEL  
DROVE THROUGH THE GOI-SPONSORED HOUSING DEVELOPMENT OF SHEIKH RADWAN.  
MAYOR SHAWWA OF GAZA MET WITH CODEL IN HIS OFFICE  
AND, WITH MFA OFFICIALS AND ISRAEL TV PRESENT,  
VIGOROUSLY PROTESTED AGAINST ISRAELI OCCUPATION.  
SHAWWA DETAILED NUMEROUS COMPLAINTS AGAINST THE  
ISRAELIS AND HELD THEM RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PRE-EMINENT  
POSITION THAT THE PLO NOW HOLDS AMONG PALESTINIANS  
(BECAUSE ALTERNATE PALESTINIAN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP  
HAD BEEN STIFLED IN GAZA AND THE WEST BANK.) HE  
SAID THAT AN IMPOSED SOLUTION IS NECESSARY TO SAFE-  
GUARD THE RIGHTS OF ALL, JEWS AND ARABS. (COMMENT:  
THIS WAS THE MAYOR'S FIRST MEETING WITH VISITING  
AMERICAN CONGRESSMEN, AND HE WAS CLEARLY WELL-PREPARED.)

11. COMMENT: SEVERAL MEMBERS OF CODEL REMARKED THAT  
PRIME MINISTER BEGIN'S HEALTH DID NOT APPEAR TO

BE GOOD AND THAT HE SEEMED TO BE OPERATING UNDER A STRAIN.

(NOTE: BEGIN IS RECOVERING FROM A COLD AND COUGHED SEVERAL TIMES DURING THEIR MEETING. AND HE HAS BEEN HANDLING A VERY HEAVY SCHEDULE, E.G., BEGIN CAME INTO THE MEETING WITH HAMILTON ET AL AT 8:30 A.M. JUST AFTER HAVING HAD AN HOUR AND A HALF MEETING WITH PROF. MILTON FRIEDMAN. THE PREVIOUS EVENING HE HAD DELIVERED A MAJOR SPEECH TO THE ZIONISTS OF AMERICA CONVENTION WHICH ENDED AFTER MIDNIGHT.) RABIN WAS CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 TEL AV 05027 03 OF 03 130830Z

GENERALLY ACKNOWLEDGED TO HAVE BEEN VERY EFFECTIVE, BETTER THAN CODEL REMEMBERED FROM PREVIOUS VISITS. YADIN AND PERES APPEARED TO BE ACCOMPLISHED, IF SOMEWHAT PREDICTABLE, WHILE WEIZMAN CAME ACROSS AS A BIT SPORADIC IN HIS REMARKS. ALL CODEL MEMBERS WERE WELL INFORMED, AND VERY THOROUGH IN THEIR QUESTIONS, WHICH FOCUSED ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ISRAELI ELECTIONS, THE OVERALL PROCESS OF MIDDLE EAST NEGOTIATIONS, AND THE NEW GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE WEST BANK. FULL MEMCONS AS WELL AS NOTES ON OTHER MEETINGS ARE BEING FORWARDED TO THE DEPARTMENT BY POUCH. THIS MESSAGE DRAFTED AFTER CODEL'S DEPARTURE.

LEWIS

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## Message Attributes

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**Subject:** CODEL HAMILTON BEGIN SUMMARY: PRIME MINISTER BEGIN TOLD CODEL HAMILTON THAT HE WOULD BE BRINGING CONCRETE ISRAELI PROPOSAL  
**TAGS:** OREP, (HAMILTON, LEE)  
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